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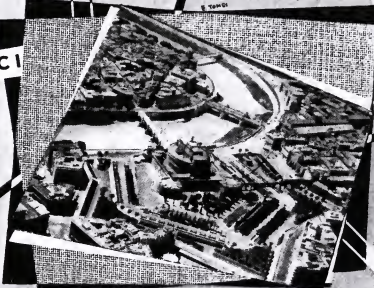
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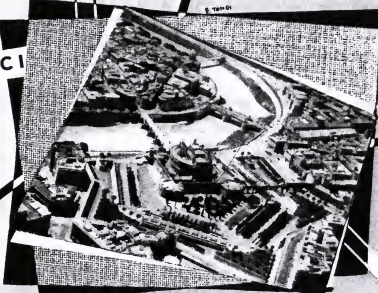
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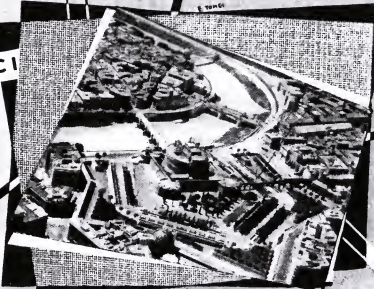
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ELENCO STRADALE DI

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GUIDA MONACI



ELENCO STRADALE DI ROMA

PALE RMO

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#4



- E LA SUA ZONA TURISTICA
- ET SA ZONE TOURISTIQUE
- AND ITS TOURIST ZONE



ENTE PROVINCIALE PER IL TURISMO
PALERMO

X-DG 864

sicily

#5



- REGIONE SICILIANA -

Assessorato per il turismo e lo spettacolo

PALERMO -

LA REGGENZA ITALIANA DEL CARNARO
DISEGNO DI UN NUOVO
ORDINAMENTO DELLO
STATO LIBERO DI FIUME



·XII SETTEMBRE MCMXIX·
·XII SETTEMBRE MCMXX·



QVIS CONTRA NOS?

30
X-DG375

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Het Karer meer met den Latemar-berg

Zuid-Tirol

(Koninkrijk Italië)

X-DG975

T78

#8

30
„Tirol frei und ungeteilt von
Rastfeld bis zur Salurner Mäule.“

Deutsch Südtirols Leidenstweg

Von Oberstleutnant a. D.

Hörl

1. Obmann der Andreas Hofer-Bundesgruppe
München



Preis 10 Pfg.

Mai 1925

Verlag Andreas Hofer-Bund / München

30

X-DG975

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Führer

durch

Deutsch-Südtirol



Wien 1927.

Im Selbstverlage des Verfassers Karl v. Raß.

Druck von G. Heinz vorm. J. B. Wolfenbaur
(verantw. Friedrich Regensdorfer), Wien 8.



SOUTH TYROL TODAY

#10

X-DG975

.T78

A FIGHT AGAINST PERSECUTION AND OPPRESSION

AUSTRIAS CRITICISMS OF ITALIAN
ADMINISTRATION AS VOICED BY HER
PARLIAMENT ON FEBRUARY 23, 1928

PUBLISHED BY THE AUSTRIAN LEAGUE
OF NATIONS UNION VIENNA, APRIL 10
1928

Reinhold von G. Wilhelms 13. April 1934

19

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#11

**Auswärtige
geistliche Grundherren
als Weingutsbesitzer
in Südtirol**

Von Ludw. Steinberger



1934

Wapen #12

X-DG975

.T78

37



Die Wahrheit über Südtirol

VON HANS FINGELLER

3. AUFLAGE 1937

DON'T FORGET SOUTH TYROL

THE LOST HOME
BY HANS FINGELLER



MAY 1940 - MAY 1941

X-DG975

778

#14

"VICTORY" - is the cry of the Duce. AND EVERYBODY FOR THE WAR! This is the slogan in obeying which the Italians are unanimous.

For the Alto Adige, next and most important in its political life, remains always the fulfilment of the Italo-German agreement, the repatriation (1) of the native population, according to the grand strategy of the two great Leaders.

The EXODUS - On the German side, as we have constantly pointed out, the direct orders of the Fuehrer for the total "repatriation", called by him "Rueckwanderung" or return-migration, are being carried out with entire loyalty One unfortunate circumstance is to be deplored, namely that into the German commission (set up to carry out the arrangements for the population transfer) natives of the South Tirol have infiltrated, constituting doubtful and delaying elements.

It remains to be considered for what reasons the exodus arranged in 1939 is not yet terminated whilst all the other German nationals in foreign countries were repatriated with admirable rapidity (from the Baltic States, Bessarabis, Bukovina, Dubrudja etc.).

Mass emigrations! The return of the descendants of the old German tribes to their great fatherland, compact and strong. This, the idea of Hitler as previously of the great Kemal. (Author's footnote: Some years ago we alone approved of Kemal's great initiative which the Italian press (the press of the world, would be nearer the truth) condemned as barbaric but which has today been recognized as justifiable)

It was the destiny of this small Alpine line to be the keystone of the new history of the world.

The first agreement of the two chiefs came as the accomplishment of the unchangeable Italian programme: the intensification in the Alto Adige (South Tirol) of all the methods for a rapid assimilation worthy of the descendants of ancient Rome. (Author's

Die Geislerschiessungen in Rom im Frühjahr 1944
=====

Im Frühjahr 1944 wurde ein Südtiroler Polizeibataillon zum Ordnungsdienst nach Rom abkommandiert. Auf dem Marsch durch die Stadt wurde eine Kompanie dieses Bataillons aus dem Hinterhalt unter Feuer genommen und verlor ~~zahlreiche~~ 32 Tote und zahlreiche Verletzte. Das deutsche Kommando liess darauf als Repressalie 10 Italiener für je einen der Gefallenen erschiessen. Nach einer Meldung der Zürcher Zeitung vom 19.8.1946 sollen neben Generalfeldmarschall Kesselring die deutschen Offiziere S.S.-Oberst Kappler, Oberst Dollmann, Major Schulz und Hauptmann Priek für diese Anordnung verantwortlich sein. Es mag sein, dass ~~bei~~ den Exekutions-Pelotons auch Südtiroler in ihrer Eigenschaft als Kameraden der Gefallenen angehörten. In dem ganzen Zusammenhang kann ihnen daraus aber kein Vorwurf gemacht werden. Sie hätten gar keine Möglichkeit gehabt, den erhaltenen Befehl nicht auszuführen.

Zum weiteren Verständnis sei hier folgendes erwähnt:

Auf Grund der Verordnung der deutschen Besatzungsbehörden in Südtirol vom 6.I.1944 Nr. 8/44 waren alle Südtiroler, auch diejenigen, die für Italien optiert hatten, zur Dienstleistung im deutschen Heere, in der Polizei, der SS und der Organisation Todt verpflichtet. Die Dienstpflicht umfasste alle Jahrgänge von 1894 - 1926. Auf Grund dieser Verordnung wurden im Laufe des Jahres 1944 in Südtirol die 3 Polizeiregimenter "Alpenvorland", "Brixen" und "Schlanders" aufgestellt. Mehr als ein Drittel ihrer Angehörigen waren Optanten für Italien, die übrigen entweder verheiratete Reservisten, die bis dahin zurückgestellt waren, oder Ältere, zum eigentlichen Frontdienst nicht mehr taugliche Leute.

Die Polizeiregimenter waren, zum Unterschied von den Frontregimenten, die ausschliesslich zum lokalen Territorialschutz bestimmten Einheiten. (Die Abkommandierung eines Bataillons nach Rom erfolgte ausnahmsweise entgegen dieser ursprünglichen Bestimmung). Das gesamte Offizierskorps und der grösste Teil des Unteroffizierkorps bestand aus Deutschen. Der organische Unterschied zwischen den Polizei- und Wehrmachteinheiten lag darin, dass die Polizeieinheiten ausschliesslich aus Infanterie bestanden, keine schweren Waffen hatten und ihre höchste Einheit das Regiment war.

Tuesday, 4th December 1945

Resettlement Treaty and International Law.

#16

Some days ago, the news was published that the ministerial council has approved a decree dealing with the option and the nationality problems resulting thereof, as usual mentioning with self-praise that this solution is inspired by a generous equity. Against this, we can only state that once again one of the most important problems of the future way of living of the South Tyrolese is to be settled without giving an opportunity to the lawful representatives of the South Tyrolese people to express their opinion on this draft proposal in some form or other. They have not even been notified of its contents. But that is democracy as it is understood in Italy. From the meagre newspaper comments on the contents of the decree we can only guess that the decree is to be used again as a means for the application of sanctions against the South Tyrolese who are classified as nazis, and that it is based on the legal facts as given by the fascist-national-socialist resettlement agreement of June 1939.

As to the first point, we have been and are always ready to support every measure sincerely designed to prevent any renewal of national-socialist ideology and activity, provided however that two facts are taken for granted:

- 1) that these measures are not used as a pretext for prosecuting those Tyrolese people who by representing the interests of the South Tyrol have become unpopular with the ruling Italian classes of to-day and of yesterday, and that they are not taken with the secret intention of carrying through a general political prosecution of the South Tyrolese;
- 2) that the same standard is applied with regard to the punishment of cases which are qualified as collaboration with the nazis and cases of collaboration with the fascists, and that the same sanctions are applied to both. If for instance one member of our community is disfranchised, because he was an official under the national-socialist rule, every one must be disfranchised in the same way, who has served as an official to fascism, without regard to the group of population to which he belongs.

eine Beschreibung, was auch hinzusetzen, welche in einem italienischen Buch "Nove anni di occupazione tedesca" des Verlages Agostiniana in Rom 1945, Seite 152, herausgegeben wurde und offensichtlich sich auf das Bozner Polizeiregiment bezieht. Dort heisst es:

Die Fallschirmjäger wurden durch ältere Soldaten, die zu den Landtruppen gehörten, ersetzt; diese wiederum wurden im vergangenen Jänner (1944) durch das SS Polizeiregiment "Bozen" abgelöst. Die Römer bemerkten sofort, dass fast alle diese grossen kräftigen Soldaten italienisch sprachen oder es wenigstens verstanden. Dabei handelte es sich um Soldaten die aus Südtirol stammten und die nicht freiwillig zu den SS Battalitionen gegangen waren, sondern ganz im Gegenteil gezwungen worden waren, diesen Polizeiformationen beizutreten, weil nach der Verwaltungsübernahme der Provinzen Bozen und Trient durch das Dritte Reich man die Männer in jeder Hinsicht zur deutschen Rasse zugehörig betrachtete, ohne dabei zu berücksichtigen ob sie für Deutschland oder Italien optiert hatten. Tatsächlich waren die meisten dieser Soldaten während ihrer ganzen Militärdienstzeit in unserer (ital.) Armee. Sie hassten ihre preussischen Offiziere und Unteroffiziere die sie als Rekruten betrachteten und mit besonderer Verachtung und Strenge behandelten. Später gelang es vielen von ihnen zu desertieren.

Es ereignete sich ein bedeutungsvoller Zwischenfall der zeigte, wie gespannt das Verhältnis zwischen Offizieren und Mannschaft war. Ein preussischer Oberleutnant zwang einen Südtiroler Wachposten in der Unterkunft der via Lepanto zur Bestrafung niederzuknien und sich dann am Boden im Staub vor seinen Kameraden, und sogar Italienern, heranzuwälzen. Dieser sadistische und bestialische Befehl vergrösserte nur noch mehr die sowieso schon vorhandene Neigung zur Revolte."

Dieses, durch einen italienischen Bischof und italienischen Schriftsteller gegebene Zeugnis, widerlegt in deutlichster und wirksamster Weise die früher zitierte verallgemeinerte Behauptung, dass "zahlreiche Südtiroler Regimenter (mehr als die vier angegebenen existierten gar nicht) sich als grausame, unarmbrüstige Verfolger der Italiener einen Namen gemacht hatten." Was die Wahrheit der Anklage betrifft, Südtiroler hatten sich am Gemetzel von Com beteiligt, darüber hat man bis jetzt keine Beweise vorlegen können.

The Tyrol revisited.

By Sir George Frankenstein

Will there be justice for the South Tyrol? How many have anxiously put that question to me in Austria, among them some of the 75,000 peasants from the South Tyrol, once happy, now uprooted and poverty-stricken, whose life had been encompassed by the worship of God and the love of their beautiful homeland, their liberty, their language and traditions, of which they have been ruthlessly deprived by the violent nationalism of the Fascists and Hitler's treachery. Twenty-five years ago the Austrian peace delegation, of which I was a member, fought in vain at St. Germain for the sacred right of Austria to keep the South Tyrol, which had been an integral part of that country for a thousand years. All the Tyrolese and Italian communities sent an appeal to President Wilson in a last, desperate attempt to avoid Italian domination. "The President had unfortunately," so writes the biographer of Woodrow Wilson, "promised the Brenner Pass boundary to Orlando, an action which he subsequently regarded as a great mistake and deeply regretted." Also Lloyd George felt remorse. "It must be admitted," he wrote in "The Truth about the Peace Treaties", "that the backing off of essentially Tyrolese villages and valleys from the rest of the Tyrol was incompatible with the principles of self-determination implicitly embodied in the original war aims of Allied statesmanship."

It was chiefly on strategic grounds that the Brenner frontier was asked for. What use has Mussolini made of it? Protected by it in the rear, Italy attacked Albania, Yugoslavia and Greece, and after stabbing France in the back opened the defences in the North for the Nazi barbarians to close the Mediterranean and finish off the British Empire on African soil. The execution of this plan had been prepared by the infamous agreement concluded by the two dictators on June 23rd, 1939, by which Hitler betrayed the South Tyrolese in order to forge and to lubricate the axis. The way, however, had been paved by many measures taken by the Italian authorities since the annexation of the South Tyrol. This province was at once deprived of the far-reaching autonomy it had enjoyed under Austrian government. Italy expressly refused to

Mr. President, Gentlemen !

The Austrian people, engaged in a struggle to free itself of a most difficult situation caused by Hitler's criminal war, in order to attain a new existence as an independent state, has greeted with sincere satisfaction the news of the invitation of an Austrian representative to this conference.

Austria maintains the hope that the world conscience for justice is going to help her to build up a new life among the family of nations.

I want to express the sincere thanks of the whole Austria for your decision not to deal with such an important question without hearing an Austrian representative.

Therefore, Gentlemen, I am going to take the chance which has been offered to me by this conference, to explain Austria's views concerning the Peace Treaty to be concluded with Italy. In order to appreciate fully our position in this question, allow me to mention a few facts about the recent events in Austria.

When the Nazi leaders began to put into effect their criminal plans for enslaving the European peoples and dominating the world, they first turned upon Austria. The evidence in the Nuremberg trial has shown that, when the attack on Austria was planned, this course of action was no longer prompted by nationalistic motives, but exclusively by considerations designed to exploit the resources of Austria and to cover Germany's flanks for the purpose of further aggression.

In accordance with these plans the first waves of the assault upon Austria were launched soon after Hitler's accession to power. This small country was not only the first to be the target of Hitler's attack but also the first resolved to defend itself.

As early as summer 1933, ~~terrorist~~ plots, instigated by Germany against the very existence of Austria, were set in motion. They were beaten off at the cost of hundred of Austrian lives. Month by month, the implements for terrorist attempts, such as explosives, bombs and ammunitions, were smuggled into Austria. This direct action was supported by a policy of economic black-

Appeal of the South Tyrolese women and mothers to all Women's Organisations in the World

Women and mothers of the whole world, we ask for your help!

The Paris Conference of Foreign Ministers brought to us women and mothers of the South Tyrol unbelievable news: South Tyrol, the country which our ancestors have cultivated for more than thousand years, whose soil was changed by our forefathers' work of centuries from a stony wilderness to the garden of paradise which it is to day, shall be finally lost to us, to our children. Our children who were driven from their native country by the close cooperation of Fascism and Nazism shall be for ever deprived of their homes.

The road of the South Tyrolese people from the moment when our country was separated from Austria in 1919, has only been a road of suffering. Our husbands were terrorized by Italian Fascism in the most inhuman manner. We women were not even allowed to teach our children their mother tongue. If we did it nevertheless, we were thrown into prison. We had to tolerate that our children were taught their prayers in a foreign language which they could only stammer and the meaning of which they could not grasp.

You mothers in all countries who have passed yourselves through so many hardships in the last few years, will certainly be able to feel what this meant for us mothers of the South Tyrol!

But when Fascism entered into an alliance with Nazism for plunging Europe and the whole world into the misery of war, the peak of our sufferings was reached. The criminal rulers of Italy and Germany decided to remove the sole obstacle which stood in the way of their close cooperation. The proud peasants of the South Tyrol who had established for themselves a free, democratic constitution already many centuries ago, those peasants who loved nothing more than freedom and hated nothing more than any form of tyranny, could easily become a danger to the two dictatorships, for they were living at the joining-point of the Italo-German "Axis". Consequently, they had to be expelled.

Then started the shameful work of transferring the population. Thousands and tens of thousands of our menfolk were pressed into the ranks of the German Wehrmacht, further tens of thousands were sent to forced labour in the factories of the occupied countries. Our husbands who were used to be masters on their own soil, became slaves to foreign interests, our children, born in the free and pure mountain air, had to spend their youth in the slums of foreign industrial cities. We women had no other defence against this misery but the hope: One day, this period of shame and violence will come to an end, one day, there will again be peace on earth. One day, right and justice will triumph. This hope of ours was strengthened by the radio messages of the Allies promising us the return of

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#21



Südtirol

schenkt Freude & Erholung im
Frühling/Sommer/Herbst & Winter

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.T7B

Gefnechtetes Wolf



Eine Rede über Südtirol
von
Dom. Dietrich, St. Wilten-Innsbruck

2023 / 37

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#23

Das Deutschtum in Südtirol



LB 542

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#124

DER
TIROLER LANDTAG
FÜR
SÜDTIROL

Tirol erneuert seinen Bund mit dem Heiligsten Herzen Jesu

In der Zeit tiefster Landesnot schloß 1796 Tirol seinen Bund mit dem göttlichen Erlöserherzen. Wiederum in einer Zeit ebensolcher tiefer Not, da es um das Schicksal des Herzstückes unserer Heimat geht, hat der Tiroler Bauernbund als Vertreter des einzigen noch geschlossenen, zahlreichsten und kraftvollsten Standes unseres Landes diesen Bund erneuert. Auf einer großen Tagung am Josefitag 1946 in der Hofburg zu Innsbruck, an der neben den Führern des Landes die Bezirksobmänner, die Ortsobmänner und von jeder Ortschaft noch ein junger Vertreter, meist ein Heimkehrer, teilnahmen, erneuerte der Bauernbund namens des Landes das Gelöbniß und versprach auch, die im Krieg schwer beschädigte Pfarrkirche in Bozen wieder aufzubauen, wenn das Land wieder eins sein wird.

Wir veröffentlichen im Nachstehenden die großen Reden des alten Vorkämpfers für Südtirol, Mons. Dr. Franz Kolb, sowie des Führers der Südtiroler, Univ.-Prof. Dr. Reut-Nicolussi, die Gelöbnißrede des Obmannes des Tiroler Bauernbundes, Landesrat Josef Muigg, und die Gelöbnißformel selbst – allen Tirolern zur Erinnerung.

Water Power and Production in the South Tyrol.

The arguments used hitherto in international conferences are discussed in conversational form and corrected according to generally available documents.

Allied expert: I have asked you, gentlemen, to take part in this conversation in order to get for myself a clear picture of the actual technical and economic relations between the power resources and industries of the South Tyrol on the one hand and of Italy and Austria on the other. As you know, this problem has not yet been fully settled at the last meeting of the four foreign ministers in Paris at the beginning of May.

Italian economist: In several reports of my Government, particularly in the letter of His Excellency De Gasperi to the American Secretary of State Mr. Byrnes of August 22nd, 1945, in a note to the foreign ministers' deputies of February 7th, 1946 and in a declaration of Foreign Minister De Gasperi shortly before the beginning of the Paris Conference, exhaustive proof in figures was given on this question.

Allied expert: In the great democracies it is usual to hear both sides before so important decisions are taken. I am sure, it will be easy for you to confirm the figures of your Foreign Minister.

Italian economist: The need for the production of electrical energy in the Venetia Tridentina for the Italian industries certainly goes without saying.

Austrian economist: Will you kindly permit me to give a precise definition of the notions to be discussed, so that we may avoid the mistake of the Italian statements

The Italianization Laws in the South Tyrol.

=====

#27

In 1919 the South Tyrol was handed over to Italy for purely strategical reasons without any ethnic, historical or economic justification. Italy felt therefore the necessity of creating postterior arguments in her favour by Italianizing the country and by making large economic investments there.

She tried to realize these aims through extirpation of the mother-tongue of the population, Italian education of the children and mass-immigration of Italians. In order to make possible this immigration it was necessary on the one hand to undermine the basis of economic life of the native population through expropriations, weakening of its financial and economical power and exclusion of the South Tyrolese from the labour market and on the other hand to create additional jobs for the Italian immigrants through construction of hydraulic power plants, large factories, military establishments, dwelling houses for Italian workers and officials and public buildings.

All these establishments were erected without any consideration of economic profitability. The South Tyrol has no industrial raw materials. Instead of directing the easily transportable electric energy to these raw materials, as everywhere else in the world, in the South Tyrol the opposite way was taken. This was done notwithstanding the further disadvantage that the South Tyrol has only current but no storable water power as other regions, which, in addition, are nearer to the industrial centres of Northern Italy. Therefore the Italian industries could only exist under the protection of the Fascist policy of self-sufficiency and with the help of state-subsventions, tax-exemptions and special transport facilities.

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28

Die Ergebnisse der Südtiroler Volkszählungen

in den Jahren 1910, 1921, 1939 und 1943

bearbeitet von der

Landesstelle für Südtirol

(Wissenschaftliche Abteilung)

Innsbruck

Die Unterschriften-Sammlung
der Südtiroler.

I.

Bezirk Bozen	26.635
" Bozner Unterland	8.542
" Brixen	17.351
" Bruneck	24.699
" Meran	25.745
" Schlanders	14.699
" Sterzing	6.106
	<u>123.777</u>

II.

Nordtirol	18.614
Vorarlberg	4.672
Kärnten	1.909
Steiermark	2.848
Salzburg	2.866
Oberösterreich	3.300
Wien u. Niederösterreich	642
	<u>34.851</u>

I = 123.777

II = 34.851

158.628 Südtiroler Unterschriften.

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#130

R e p l y to the Arguments contained in the letter
addressed by De Gasperi to Byrnes.

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#32

A N N E X 2

A n n e x 3

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#33

Map

of the historical development of the Tyrol, a pass country

Carte

démontrant le développement historique du Tyrol, pays de cols

Karte

der geschichtlichen Entwicklung des Paßlandes Tirol

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over 15124 box # 118

Population in the Com

(Italian c

The situation bef
after 20 ye

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ETHNOGRAPHISCHES und der benachbarten STAND IM JAHRE 1910 NACH DER LETZTEN

ETHNOGRAPHICAL MAP OF THE SOUTH TYROL and the neighbouring communities of the Trentino

CORRESPONDING TO THE YEAR 1910 AFTER THE LAST CENSUS BEFORE THE ANNEXATION BY ITALY



The geographical situation of the Tyrolese frontiers

In the valley gorges hostile to traffic originated the ethnical and national frontiers

La frontière tyrolienne formée d'après les conditions géographiques

Aux défilés empêchant la circulation se formèrent les frontières ethnographiques et politiques

Die geographisch bedingte Grenzbildung von Tirol

An den verkehrseindlichen Talengen entstanden die ethnographischen und die staatlichen Grenzen



Am 25. Jänner 1957 nahm Staatssekretär Univ.-Prof. Dr. Franz Gschnitzer zur Südtiroler Frage in seiner Innsbrucker Rede wie folgt Stellung:

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3- APR 24
COPY 1957

#38

Wie läßt sich die Südtiroler Frage lösen?

„Volkes Stimme, Gottes Stimme“ — ein großes, ein dunkles Wort, ein Wort zum Guten wie zum Bösen, denn das Volk ist zum Edelsten wie zum Schlimmsten fähig, zur ärgsten Verirrung wie zur unbirraren Entscheidung. Wie viel ist unter Berufung auf das Volk, im Namen des Volkes ausgesüßigt worden! Vor allem ist die Vernunft nicht Sache des Volkes, das aus dumpfer Leidenschaft liebt oder haßt, zustimmt oder verdammt.

Und doch ist die Berufung auf den Volkswillen unerläßlich. Eine volksfremde Politik und Regierung kann sich nicht halten. Auch ist nicht zu leugnen, daß das Volk in seinem dunklen Drang oft instinktiv die rechte Wahl und Entscheidung dort trifft, wo die Vernunft, allzu gehemmt, Gründe und Gegengründe abwägend, keinen Weg mehr sieht.

Volkes Stimme, Gottes Stimme? Wenn, dann so wie die Stimme der Gottheit im Orakel: Dunkel der Sinn und schwer zu deuten, freilich richtig gedeutet ein Wahrspruch.

Wie spricht die Stimme des Volkes in der Südtiroler Frage? Sie sagt: Die Losreißung Südtirols nach 1918 widerspricht den feierlich verkündeten Grundsätzen Wilsons; die österreichisch-italienische Grenze sollte nach klar erkennbaren Richtlinien gezogen und den Völkern Österreich-Ungarns das Selbstbestimmungsrecht gewahrt werden. Überdies hat Italien der widerrechtlich einverleibten deutschen Volksgruppe ihre Grundrechte vorenthalten, ja alles daran gesetzt, um sie aufzusaugen und zuletzt sogar auszusiedeln.

Das unsäufbare Unrecht, sagt die Volkseinstimmte, hat man auch 1945 nicht wieder gemacht. Und doch hatte Wilson und ihm andere Staatsmänner die Grenzziehung von St. Germain als groben Fehler einkalkuliert. Das war schon 1918 eine überholte Eroberungspolitik gewesen, wobei

Italien immerhin auf Seiten der Sieger gestanden hatte; wie war das 30 Jahre später noch zu rechtfertigen, da Italien mit zu den Besiegten zählte?

Um das schlechte Gewissen zu beschwichtigen, mußte sich Italien beim Friedensschluß zu einem Abkommen mit Österreich bequemen, das den Südtirolern besonderen Schutz zusicherte. Allein, meint die Volkseinstimmte, Italien hat dieses Abkommen in den 10 Jahren seines Bestandes nur mit großen Verzögerungen, mit Abstrichen hier und dort nach Art eines zahlungsunwilligen Schuldners behandelt. Ist die deutsche Sprache etwa gleichberechtigt? Besteht die Schulautonomie? Sind die Ämter von Südtirolern besetzt? Wurde nicht gegen Zweck und

Wortlaut des Vertrages Südtirol die Autonomie verweigert und Südtirol mit Welschtirol zu einer Region zusammengefügt, so daß die Südtiroler majorisiert werden? Ist das Ergebnis der vierzigjährigen italienischen Herrschaft nicht das, daß das rein deutsche Südtirol zu einem Drittel italienisch geworden ist? Und die Folgerung die das Volk zieht? Unverantwortlich noch länger zuzusehen; Verhandlungen mit Italien über die Erfüllung des Pariser Vertrages nach den gemachten Erfahrungen nutzlos; es gibt nur eine Lösung: das Unrecht wieder gutmachen, Selbstbestimmungsrecht für Südtirol.

So ist die Stimme des Volkes.

Unrecht ist geschehen

Demgegenüber hat die offizielle Stellungnahme einen schweren Stand. Ja, sagt sie,

Unrecht ist geschehen, und doch hier dauernd Unrecht geschieht, kann nicht klar genug und muß immer wieder festgestellt werden.

Das Unrecht gutzumachen, das Selbstbestimmungsrecht zu geben — die Lösung, welche man anderwärts zum Glück und Vorteil aller Beteiligten gefunden hat oder doch angestrebt — das wäre die ideale Lösung. Wäre — der Irrsinn sagt alles. Die Politik, die sich mit der Realität auseinanderzusetzen hat, muß dazu feststellen:

Da 1945, in dem gegebenen Zeitpunkt für die Wiedergutmachung, diese Wiedergutmachung nicht zu erhalten war, hätte man (ganz oder gar nicht!) das Erhältliche, nämlich den Pariser Vertrag auch ablehnen sollen? Wer hätte das verantworten können? Er hat die Rechtslage der Südtiroler verbessert und einen Verzicht beinhaltet er nicht.

Wenn sich aber die faktische Lage der Südtiroler nicht entsprechend gebessert hat, fehlt es nicht am Vertrag, sondern an der Durchführung. Also kann Österreichs Aufgabe nicht sein, einen Vertrag preiszugeben. Es muß uns zu denken geben, daß gerade die nationalistischen, neofaschistischen Kreise Italiens dasselbe Verlangen stellen. Österreichs Aufgabe muß es vielmehr sein, auf der Erfüllung des Vertrages dem Worte wie dem Sinne nach zu bestehen.

Hat Österreich sich damit zu lange Zeit gelassen? Jedenfalls war es in der Zwischenzeit nicht untätig. Schon bis zum Inkrafttreten der wichtigsten italienischen Gesetze vergingen Jahre: das Autonomiestatut erschien am 28. Jänner 1948, das Optatendekret am 2. Februar 1948, das Studentitelabkommen überhaupt erst 1956. Nach dem Inkrafttreten der Norm braucht es wieder geraume Zeit, ehe man überblicken kann, wie sich die Durchführung gestaltet. So zog sich die Behandlung de

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Südtirol

EINE EUROPÄISCHE AUFGABE

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South Tyrol
a problem of military geography

BY

DR. MANFRED SELL

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Die Südtirol-Frage im Jahre 1959

Von Bernhard Schloh

HALBMONATSSCHRIFT DER DEUTSCHEN GESELLSCHAFT FÜR
AUSWÄRTIGE POLITIK

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**THE PROBLEM
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**THE PROBLEM
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*THE CASE
OF SOUTH TYROL*

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*THE CASE
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South Tyrol

and

Regional Autonomy



The Reconstitution of the Tyrol -
an Affair of Honour for Democracy.

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The Tyrol is one of the few countries of continental Europe, which, already in the middle ages had produced a constitution compelling the Prince or whoever ruled the state at the time, to hear the advice of the people, thus constituting a monarchy in the democratic sense. This constitution was already laid down in writing in 1342 - just 600 years ago - similar to the Great Charter (Magna Charta Libertatum) in England.

According to this constitutional document of 1342, the then overlord of the Tyrol, Duke Ludwig, confirmed to all people of his county, noble or common, rich or poor, the rights they received from his predecessors, especially from Count Meinhard, the founder of the county's unity and of the County of Tyrol on both sides of the Brenner from Bozen to Innsbruck. These rights are shortly but precisely defined in the following terms: The ruler of the county is entitled only "with the advice of the countrymen and their most worthy of them" - that is to say only with the consent of the inhabitants of the county and their representatives, to impose taxes, issue new laws, and govern the county in general. Moreover, he could confer official posts within the county only upon such persons as were born there.

As shown by other documents of that time and later, all important laws passed by the overlord had actually been made subject to the consent of the representative assembly and were issued for their well-being, the same applying to the appointment of new rulers. This was the case especially in 1363, when the Dukes of Austria took over the County of Tyrol by virtue of their hereditary rights.

The representatives of the Tyrolean people with their overlord have been called from that time onwards "the common assembly" (Gemeine Landschaft). This assembly was composed of the following four groups: the chapters, the nobility, the towns of citizens and the courts, village communities or peasants. The representation of peasants in the assembly and its plenary assembly, the pro-

The removal to the Brenner Frontier -
An essential condition for Austria's independence.

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"Lo spartano al no-ger-
 co
 Ettore Boldi,
 Archivio dell'Alto Adige,
 1911

Seen from the Austrian point of view, the question of the South Tyrol may be contemplated in many ways such as the historical, cultural, democratic and economic point of view. Each of these points can prove Austria's claim convincingly. Yet it is advisable to face the problem from still another angle, i.e. the reaction of the Brenner Frontier on the European order, particularly on the independence of Austria.

May it first be pointed out that the old Tyrol was one of the main pillars of Austria's patriotism, the "Country of Fidelity" as it used to be called. The 600 years old union with Austria had established firm bonds of loyalty to Austria and its symbol the Imperial House so that the Tyrolean regiments received the honorable title of "Tyrolean Kaiserjäger" (and in 1848, the year of revolution, the Imperial family took refuge in the Tyrol). Also during the last war of the old monarchy this loyalty was manifested in the many sacrifices of life brought by the loyal Tyrolean not only on their own frontier but in Galicia and Russia as well.

The spiritual union of the Tyrol with Austria was shaken to its very roots by the partition of the Tyrol in 1919. The allied statesmen of 1919 may not have foreseen the consequences of establishing the Brenner Frontier, or they have attached no importance to it. The literature dealing with the peace conference makes it clear that the extension of the Italian sphere of influence beyond the "Trento e Trieste" was not welcomed, yet one does not seem to have recognized that the disintegration of the Tyrol in the middle of the Alps actually wounded the new Austria in its heart.

I have just returned from a short visit to the probably last fascist country in Europe: Southern Tyrol. As one probably knows, this country always belonged to Austria until it was given to Italy after 1918. The promise given by Italy of a cultural autonomy for this now province was not kept and what happened to the unfortunate Tyrolean population is too well known to need to be described again.

What is the situation now? Arriving at Bosen (Bolzano) I was not struck specially by the extensive destructions of a greater part of the town - I had been prepared to find those ruins - but I was surprised to the utmost by the changes in the aspect of the streets. The houses which had escaped destruction had not changed, the style was Tyrolean but the passers-by were Italians. I looked for American or English soldiers, knowing that this part of Italy was occupied by them but I did not see any at first. On the other hand the streets were full of Italians, soldiers too, a very poor looking lot but trying hard to play the conqueror hurrying in all directions through the town on their horses. One could not help asking: What are they all doing here? And where are the Tyrolese? A friend of mine gave me the following answer. The Tyrolese are fleeing. This is the reason one does not see them. Most of the architects, but the town people too have no time to walk up and down the streets. On what are all these Italians living? Was my second question. The black market is entirely in their hands and there must be so e organization which supports them. The prefect, a well known former fascist made himself prefect and . . . was recognized by the local American authorities. He formed a council because Italy is a democratic country now and a council was fully desirable. That this council consisted entirely of functionaries of the old fascist structure, all well known fascists, was no obstacle whatsoever. The former functionaries remained, the public services were in Italian hands and . . . the secret police remained as fascist as it had ever been. The Americans there were not really interested and they got their information entirely from the Italian side. Many of them

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總行地址：廣東省廣州市長堤大新街



Prime Minister Dr. De Gasperi summarised in his last speech, held in the 'Consulta', all arguments which Italy has to exhibit on the peace conference, where her future fate will be definitely decided within a short time. Dr. De Gasperi proceeded without regards, doing so, and ignored the facts, as far as the South Tyrolian interests were concerned, according to the motto, cited by himself: one has to suggest to the great seigneurs in the best possible way, what they ought to do, by presenting them all things so, as if they were already done.

De Gasperi tries to picture the South Tyrolian conditions, as if the fascism had been only a little episode, a small obstacle in the autonomistic-democratical development which started after world war I. He repeats the already well-known promises of resolving all urgent problems, such as the question about option for Germany in 1939, about bilinguism, about the right to preserve the own culture and costumes etc., in a very magnanimous way, as it is due by a democratical government. Unfortunately the South Tyrolians - says De Gasperi - show a quite mistaken mentality. We know what the prime minister means with this allusion. He feigns not to understand why the South Tyrolian population deeply mistrusts to all promises made on paper; this mistrust was originated not only by the experiences made during the terrible years of fascist oppression, but also in a not alighter way by the events and omissions which happened during the eight last months since war ended in May 1945.

In these eight months - after the fall of fascism and its liquidation - the government would have had enough opportunity to show its good will, to enable the South Tyrolian population to sure their rights and just pretensions.

De Gasperi, under such circumstances, would have been able to affirm in the 'Consulta', that the shameful agreement of 1939 (option for Germany) had been declared null and without any importance, as it represented a typically nazi-fascist misdeed, - that the government had understood this international agreement to be nothing else than an annex to the axis-pact preparing the war, - that the word of 'rationing the bread' had special value for the voters in the South Tyrol, as they suffered more than any other part of Italy by the fascist persecution.

He ought to have said that the obvious right of bilinguism not only is about to be realized, but already has become a fact, - that the South Tyrolian population had been liberated by people destined by free

The declarations about the Brenner border, given by prime minister De Gasperi in the "Consulta" on January 21st, are the most complete statement, uttered up to now by a representative of the Italian Government, concerning the South Tyrolian problem. De Gasperi cited in his speech the letter he had written recently to the American Foreign minister Byrnes, wherein he claims, among other things, not only for the Trentino, but also for the South Tyrol to be adjudged to Italy.

At the same time he repeated the data concerning the South Tyrolian electricity centrals, mentioned in that letter, which serve to the Italians to justify their claims for having adjudged our country to themselves.

The electric current production in the waterworks of Bolzano and Trento Provinces, according to De Gasperi's assertion, represents 13.6 % of the whole Italian current production. He asserted that the electric energy, produced in this area, is the only reserve for the North Italian industry and for management of the railways.

South Tyrolian electricity production.

In this respect we have to state the following:

The current production in Trento province cannot be considered absolutely for justifying the claim for the South Tyrol, but only that of Bolzano province. This latter only amounts to 7.87 % of the Italian total current production. Consequently this argument loses great part of its importance.

Moreover it is not at all true that the current production in the South Tyrol represents the only reserve for the industries in the Po-plain. Italy has plenty of such reserves in Piemont, Veltlin, Trentino, and Belluno. Besides, reconnection of the South Tyrol to Austria will be by no means an obstacle for going on supplying electric current from the South Tyrolian waterworks to Italy, since the usufruct of this water-energy can be settled by suitable international agreements. Austria no doubt will agree. Even more, certainly she will be ready to forward electric current, if required, also from other Austrian waterworks, situated abroad, if the South Tyrolian problem is settled in a friendly way.

About promises.

De Gasperi further emphasizes in his letter to Byrnes, discussed

Justice for the Tyrol Committee.
Jur. Phil. Agr. Dr. Otto Hecht.

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The South Tyrol.

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The basic principle.

Wilson's 14 points, the Atlantic Charter and the Charter of the UNO proclaim alike as a basic principle of a free, democratic world, that no people should be put under alien rule against their will. The ethnic position of the South Tyrol as a pure Austrian country by ancient customs, by way of life and by language was recently re-affirmed by H.M. Foreign Secretary in the debate of the House of Commons on February 21st. In fact this ethnic position has never been questioned by the Italians. Contrary to the Charters they asked for the South Tyrol after the last war on strategic and today on economic reasons, although the Italian prime Minister De Gasperi, as a member of the Italian Parliament, after the last war, joined President Wilson's and Mr. Lloyd George's views in saying that it was an injustice to give this country to Italy.

Alleged reasons for the violation of the Charters.

The Italians still advocate the necessity of a strategic frontier, although according to military experts, the ethnic frontier line at Salurn, claimed by the Austrians, is quite as good a line of defence on high mountain ranges, though not as high as the Brenner line. Military experts however are agreeing on ~~that~~ that strategic line are of little avail in the days of big bombers and the atom bomb. Notwithstanding all that, the Austrian Government have proposed to demilitarize the South Tyrol and to put it under the supervision of the UNO to satisfy any anxiety of the Italians.

Meeting the Italian claims to the electric power stations which Fascist Italy built there, the Austrian Government proposed to guarantee to Italy by treaties the full possession of all these plants and to raise no objection to the export of the electric energy to Italy.

The Italians say that all this could not satisfy their claims.

Memorandum

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concerning South-Tyrol.

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Early in 1939 Lord Halifax laid down in a speech: "In saying and doing things we should always bear in mind the effect this might have upon other people's feelings". The noble Lord has subsequently not always practised what he preached; yet, his advice, a synthesis of tact and fairplay, is excellent.

Upon this British sense of fair play is founded the signal success of the Government of the Federated Malay States of which I have been a witness for thirty years. It is the British sense of fair play, a proud heritage from my English ancestors, which prompts me to speak to Britons for South Tyrol.

Assuming England had lost a war against an invader: Imagine the feelings of an Englishman, say a native of Hampshire, who, after an absence of ten years spent in Malaya, returning home in 1919, finds the familiar old towns, villages, the rivers, valleys and hills bearing foreign names. It would then dawn upon him that the war of which he had so far only read in the papers, was not a nightmare, but a reality. He would learn that the old home had not been conquered in battle, but had been occupied without a fight, on the pretence that the invader had been in possession two thousand years ago; that his home had been handed over to the enemy on the strength of an enforced Treaty, without consulting the population - a price for clever diplomacy rather than for military valor.

Should I misjudge the English mentality and temper by saying: this man of Hampshire would never - never - never hesitate for one moment, to smash such a Treaty at the first opportunity.

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